13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai

or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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868 dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-
[461] plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert
868 net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom
286 he visited in another village, a second man learned from a
463 chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

871 The necessities of formal education in the three "R's"
872 which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room schoolhouse in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child.
871 A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school
873 may continue their education at a government or mission college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Her Royal Highness Princess Pilolevu takes an active part in shaping the future of Tonga by conducting a kindergarten *(above)* in Nuku'alofa, and by working as education and training officer of the Tonga Visitors' Bureau. The Princess completed her education in New Zealand in 1971.

'Oku faiako foki e ta'ahine ko **Pilolevu** 'i he 'apiako 'i Nuku'alofa *(ta 'i 'olunga)*, pea 'oku ne ma'u e fakanga mahu'inga 'i he feinga 'a e pule'anga ke fakatokolahi ange 'a e kau folau 'eve'eva. Na'e ako 'a Pilolevu 'i Nu'u Sila.

The Royal Family of Tonga today is descended from the ancient dynasties.

Ko e Fale 'o e Tu'i: Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, Kuini Mata'aho, Pilinisi 'Alaivahamama'o, Pilinisesi Pilolevu, Pilinisi Kalauni Tupouto'a, mo Pilinisi 'Aho'eitu.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
[872] (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages
[873] . . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate school, and four primary schools. Children from one village attend the school run by a particular church
[794] in another. Attendance at church and church membership also cuts across village affiliation.
(3) The villages constitute an interesting political contrast, in that two of them are on government land and two on noble's land, one of which is at present headless because there is a vacant title with little probability of an heir.

Possibly, this village will provide me with something of a cross section of Tongan society outside
[184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware that more remote villages (which are usually considerably smaller and, by definition, would be less technologically sophisticated and have less interaction with the capital) may be organized very differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of that at this time, and will therefore not concern myself with that problem until it becomes a real question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122, making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed, the aggregate population of villages that had more than seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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162 they conduct services at the home of one of their members).
621 Even if the Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are set
795 aside, congregations are more correctly described as local
794 groups rather than village groups. Each of the three Wesleyan denominations has its own church in Motulahi. (Indeed, the Free Wesleyan Church had two church sites, since for some years it had been in process of constructing a new building of brick to replace the existing delapidated wooden structure.) However, only the congregation of the Free Wesleyan Church could be said to be village-based in the sense that all members of the congregation are village residents, whereas not all the people who belong to the Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga live in Motulahi. Some are residents of the small neighboring village of Tatafa, for their denominations do not have enough members to be able
[872] to support a congregation in Tatafa. Similarly, the Roman Catholics of Motulahi, together with those from other nearby villages, attend church in Nukutau (the village immediately adjacent to Motulhai), where there is also a Roman Catholic primary school. The Mormons, too, have a joint congregation with neighboring villages; their church is located on the boundary between Motulahi and Nukutau.
162 This is also the site of the church-run post-primary school
621 that is attended by many children from the district. The
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46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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Motulahi

Free Wesleyan Church also adminsters a post-primary school for the district and a primary school as well. Both are located in Nukutau.

Whatever the denomination, the local congregation is the major source and focus of public activity in village life. Everyone is at least nominally an adherent of some denomination, and there are few in the village who can withstand the pressure of the expectation that they should at the very least attend church once a week. The Roman Catholic Church has no regularly-scheduled activities for the congregation beyond daily church services and three services on Sundays. Each of the other four local congregations, however, has a scheduled round of weekly activities. In the Mormon Church, there are two Sunday services for the entire congregation (see Table 19). In addition to this, on Monday evenings there is a family service (which people attend in elementary-family groups), on Tuesday afternoons there is a service for women (aged sixteen and up), and on Wednesday afternoons there is a children's service (up to about sixteen years of age). Besides services, there are a number of other church-related activities. Every Tuesday afternoon and evening, members of the church who are able to do so are engaged in genealogical research (an activity related to certain doctrines of the Mormon Church). Twice a week there is a practice

794 795 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 871 872 While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore, 458 794 872 while the government provides two-thirds of the primary education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 794 795 In considering the provision of education as an element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,

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8 Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

312 days. It worked on and off for a few months and then in
365 mid-April there was another three-week period in which there was no piped water in the village. During such periods people use the rain water that has accumulated in storage drums and in the village water tank; indeed, it is my impression that depletion of the rain-water is what motivates whichever person takes the initiative
312 to re-activate the tap-water system. There are statutory
624 regulations that provide for the establishment of a Water
365 Committee in each village to see to collecting the money and overseeing the labor necessary for keeping the village water system in continual working order. In most villages, however, the committees exist in name only, and this is also true in Motulahi.

571 It might be inferred from these data that Tongan villagers are somehow incapable of working for the common good or that they are unwilling to cooperate beyond their own kin-groups and congregations. However, the following
872 data will serve as a counter-example. The government
658 primary school in Motulahi has a reputation as a fine school and there has been considerable growth in the student
872 population over the years. By 1969 there was beginning to
476 be a severe problem of insufficient classrooms and classes doubling up in the same room. Finally, in October 1969, after raising half the costs of the building materials,

872 476 villagers from Motulahi built three additional classrooms, working over a two-week period together with people from the four neighboring villages that are also served by the school.[12] A total of sixty-four men and women from Motulahi were involved in this labor--all but two of whom had at least one child in their household who was currently a student at the school--and most of them were at the work-site every day. At the end of this period of very intensive effort there were three new classrooms, and the local School Committee, which had coordinated all the effort, resumed its inactivity.

575 To understand why the classroom project was a success while the water system functions less effectively, it is instructive to consider another type of group that is found in Tonga at the local level, namely, voluntary associations (kautaha). The voluntary associations that I encountered in Tongan villages, as well as those I was told about in other villages, have the following features:

1. In contrast to such groups as the congregation and the fāmili, both of which are multi-purpose and situational-

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653 658 12. This local effort is part of a national program in which village men perform the labor in building the classrooms and the women provide a common meal served at the worksite three times each day, while construction is supervized by the Government's Department of Public Works and the Public Works Department provides the other half of the costs of the building materials.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

535 section may be singing only with no haka. The second section then
538 relates a story through singing and haka. The example given above
535 conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The fa'ahiula cannot be said to be a living dance type because no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are familiar with the fa'ahiula and only a very limited number of women
535 perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that
795 associated this dance, along with the ula and me'etu'upaki, with the
[643] Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic
[644] Church. The fa'ahiula was preserved and used by the Catholic Church. Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed at Catholic gatherings.

535 The performance of fa'ahiula today is almost exclusively at
794 gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or entertainments for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert entertainment. The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of fa'ahiula at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program.
[812] Fa'ahiula are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic

535 Church either by the girls of the Catholic school who are instructed
[744] by Tongan nuns or by the women of Lapaha.
[372] Perhaps the most knowledgeable exponents of the fa'ahiula genre
[538] are Ana Malia and Vaisima Hoposte. Vaisima is one of the few Tongans to write down dance poetry and both he and his sister, Ana Malia, have
[644] a remarkable memory for haka. Their father, Hoposte, who died in 1966 at the age of 80 was a son of a composer of fa'ahiula. Hoposte was a very high chief and a classificatory tamai, 'father,' of the late Queen Salote Tupou III and thus kui, 'grandparent,' of the present King. Hoposte was known as one of the few people who was an authority on this dance genre.

Another of the few who know the tradition well is Sister Mary 'Okostino, a Tongan nun who was taught by Malia Toto and Kolotele who were said to have performed for the immediate descendants of the last Tu'i Tonga, and who were known for their knowledge of fa'ahiula and hiva. Sister 'Okostino teaches fa'ahiula to the girls of the Catholic schools.

643 Finally, it should be noted that fa'ahiula are not performed
745 during official government katoanga, 'celebrations,' probably because
[541] they are not considered a formal dance genre today and because of the
[595] association with the Tu'i Tonga line of Kings and the Catholic Church. The official government is presently under the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of Kings which is associated with Wesleyanism.

535 An innovation seen in ula in Tonga was the substitution of the Si sia motif (p. 223) performed with both hands simultaneously, instead of M.I.a.2. at the beginning of the yahs ula. The ula experts, however, are quite contemptuous of the adapted yahs. The only 'approved' changes are those of changing the order in which the ula motifs are done in the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases; and the addition of some 'haka' of the M.I.a.1. paradigm that were not previously used in the ula. Some of the 'haka' were traditionally part of the ula and fa'ahiula, but in recent times more of these 'haka' are added to make it more colorful.

535 644 [795] [645] [582] [794] [812] The ula like the fa'ahiula, due to historical circumstances, was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, and the Catholic Church. This is, however, no longer exclusively the case, for a number of women from Lapaha[A] married men from the village of Kolonga and the ula is occasionally done there. Another reason that ula is done by 'outsiders' is that it, along with fa'ahiula is taught in Catholic schools and the students come from many villages. In their own villages it is easy to do an ula because it may be performed by only one or a

535 few women; while the fa'ahiula should be done by a large number. It is not difficult to tell which ula performers have grown up with the [644] tradition. The Lapaha people are still the experts in the tradition, secure in their superiority, although others may perform it. Those who have learned it in school do not know what are the essential features of the ula and they carry over features of the tau'olunga

A [the Tui Tonga's village--Analyst]

535 643 [178] The _ma'stu'upaki_ was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, even more strongly than the _ula_ and _fa'ahiula_. With changes in the societal structure of Tonga, that resulted in the Tu'i Kanokupolu becoming the ruling dynasty, and the institution of Wesleyanism almost as a State [644] [745] religion, the _ma'stu'upaki_ fell into disuse. Today it is associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga's village, Lapaha, and Catholicism. On the rare occasions of its performance, it is done mainly by Lapaha, Tu'i Tonga line, Catholic men. The last such performance is said to have been in 1945 at the 100th anniversary of [877] the birth of George Tupou I. The _ma'stu'upaki_ today may also be performed by the boys of the Catholic high school at the end of the school year ceremonies. The dance is a difficult one, and it will probably not be many more years before it, too, will be dropped from the extant genres of Tongan dance. (For a more complete treatment of the societal aspects of the _ma'stu'upaki_, see Kaeppler 1967b.)

535 We come now to the living Tongan dance genres of which there are three, _lakalaka_, _ma'ulu'ulu_, and _tau'olunga_.

LAKALAKA

Lakalaka is the contemporary dance type presented for formal occasions, whether they be government, church (especially Wesleyan), village, or family. On a government occasion _lakalaka_ are performed by 'all' the men and women of a village, which is often over 100. On smaller specialized occasions there may be only about 30 dancers.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

who loves its enemies—he therefore would not hear of any being put to death.[14]

A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The business of reducing the people who have so long opposed, has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'[15] Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga, used a military image, pointing out that '*now* they are soldiers in the army of Jesus'.[16]

Undoubtedly Christian teaching played a significant role in introducing and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour. In the mission's extensive school system, which catered for adults as well as children, there was a frequent emphasis upon the importance of living in friendship and fellowship. 'Fellowship is a good thing' *Ko e Motua Lea* taught in two of its five lessons; hatred was a bad thing when directed towards other people, but men should hate lies and evil speaking. In this early book the Devil was the only enemy.[17] Other books taught love and forgiveness as part of the Christian ethic.[18] *Koe Tohi Ako* (The School Book), which contained the Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiveness, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people'.[19] The Catechism (*Fehui moe Tala*) approached this area by asking a question about man's responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given: 'Righteousness is to obey my parents, and be respectful to my relatives . . . do good, love and be forgiving to all people'.[20]

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, which contained the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother.[21] These parables stressed the responsibility of Christians to show love, concern and forgiveness towards those who had wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the *Wesleyan Rules of Society*, urged members of society to avoid fighting, quarrelling and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.[22] Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through

[14] Peter Turner, Journal, 21 Aug. 1831, ML, B301.
[15] James Watkin, Journal, 26 Mar. 1833, ML, A834.
[16] Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec. 1831, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M143).
[17] *Ko e Motua Lea* (Nuku'alofa 1831), p 3, lessons 1, 2 and 5.
[18] See e.g. *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala Mei he Uluaki Folofola a e Otua* (Tongataboo Feb. 1834); *Ko e Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo June 1832).
[19] *Ko e Tohi Ako* (Tongataboo, second ed. 1835), p 4, lesson ix.
[20] *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala* (Tongataboo 1831), Section 5, Question 45.
[21] *Ko e Gaahi lesoni eni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo 1832), pp 3-4, 5-9.
[22] *Ko e Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui* (Tongataboo 1834), p 2-3.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

the person of Jesus Christ.[23] At least one missionary devised a novel method of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences'. James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the schools, included the following questions and answers:

> Who are they who love war?
> Answer: The true sons of the Devil.
> Who are they that seek war?
> Answer: Wild beasts thirsting for blood.[24]

Before 1833, therefore, there was nothing in missionary teaching to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in school and church was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.[25] Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'[26]

And yet the 30s saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the *lotu* (i.e. Christianity) from the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u gave impetus to the anti-*lotu* party who began to persecute Christians and to disrupt services of worship. By January 1834 relations between the two parties became strained almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou. Their arrival was awe-inspiring—some 50 large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'. Thomas was impressed: 'Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a scene since it was a land.'[27]

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and their presence ensured at least a momentary peace, although rumours of war were upon many lips. 'This island is quite a stir', wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands'.[28] Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau sailed back to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading of weapons. Tāufa'āhau had 'a large club and a gun'

[23] See lesson books nos 1-6.
[24] Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec. 1832, ML, A874.
[25] See e.g. Nathaniel Turner, *First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo* (Sydney 1828); *Ko e Motua Lea* (Tongataboo 1831, 1834, 1840), reading lessons 1, 2 and 3.
[26] Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817.
[27] Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb., 3, 30 Mar. 1834, ANL, mf M160. The *lali* referred to is a wooden drum.
[28] Ibid., 10 Mar. 1834.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of Ha'apai.[38] In the meantime revival continued in the north, bringing thousands into the church.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling the missionaries, through their schools, classes and sermons, introduced the Old Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worshippers and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small booklets: one from Isaiah containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and apostates, two from I Samuel containing the story of Saul's battle with the opponents of his rule and the enemies of Jehovah, and two from Psalms, for the most part a series of Israelite war songs.[39]

The books from Samuel taught that Israelite kinship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.[40] It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, he continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents'.[41] Apart from enemies within there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day', and as one of the booklets proclaims as its final words: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel'.[42]

The extract from Isaiah prophesies doom for the 'sinful nation' because they have 'forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint'.[43] Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient', whose land 'is full of idols' and who 'worship the work of their own hands'. These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord', and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'[44]—a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga. The tone of Isaiah is ruthless.

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Ko e Gashi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu*, No. 7 (Tongataboo Apr. 1833); *Ko e Ulualu Buka a Samiuela*, No. 12 (Tongataboo Apr. 1834); *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, No. 13 (Tongataboo May 1834); *I Samiuela*, No. 14 (Tonga Aug. 1834); *Ko e Same*, No. 15 (Tonga Oct. 1834). The decision to prepare these books was made at the District Meeting of 1832. Watkin Papers, ML, A1560.

[40] *I Samiuela*, No. 14, viii, 20; xi, 1-15.

[41] Ibid., x, 27. The biblical references quoted in this article are taken from the King James Version of the bible which was used by the missionaries in their translation work. The Tongan booklets were, almost without exception, literal translations of passages from this version.

[42] Ibid., xi, 11; xiv, 12.

[43] *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, i, 4-5.

[44] Ibid., ii, 8; v, 24.

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> Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them . . . and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched forth still . . . and in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea; and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.[45]

Isaiah's message of doom is dramatically presented in his parable of the vineyard where the Lord decrees 'I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: And I will lay it waste . . .'.[46] The teachings of the Isaiah booklet can perhaps best be summed up in some key words from the first chapter:

> If ye will be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.[47]

It is in the books from the Psalms, however, that the war theme is most explicitly and extensively taught. The two booklets contain the first 31 psalms, all of which follow, to a greater or lesser extent, the theme of destruction by war. The basic teaching is simple. Firstly it is taught that the heathen assume a threatening attitude towards Jehovah and his chosen ones:

> Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and his anointed, saying: Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.[48]

Secondly there is the affirmation that although there is a danger for those who follow Jehovah, they will nevertheless ultimately triumph over the heathen. The following extracts from Psalms ii and xviii are typical:

> Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.
>
> It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivered me from my enemies; yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me; thou hast delivered me from the violent men.[49]

A third and prominent theme is that victory will come to the followers of Jehovah through the annihilation of the heathen opposition. Psalm xviii illustrates this point of view more explicitly than many others:

[45] Ibid., v, 25, 30.
[46] Ibid., v, 5-6.
[47] Ibid., i, 19-20.
[48] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, ii, 1-3. See also ii, iii, 6-7; v, 4, 10; viii; ix, 3-6.
[49] Ibid., ii, 9; xviii, 47-8. See also iv, 8; v, 11; vii, 1, 23.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

> I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again until they were consumed. I have wounded them that they were not able to rise: they are fallen under my feet. . . . Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies: that I might destroy them that hate me.[80]

Other elements in the theme are that Jehovah will give strength to the king and people to make war, and that rebellious subjects will be humbled and forced to submit to the king's rule.[81]

What emphasis the missionaries gave to these teachings in the day to day programme of the church and schools is not easy to determine. It is quite likely, however, judging from their writings, that they placed a good deal of stress upon them. During the unsettled years of the 30s they frequently chose texts for their sermons from Old Testament stories about war with the heathen. In December 1836 King George and his close relative and adviser, Ulakai, visited Thomas at Vava'u to discuss the best policy to be followed in what appeared to be the inevitable outbreak of war.[82] What passed between the missionary and the King was not recorded at the time, but in the weeks that followed Thomas preached on texts which told of the clash between Jehovah's chosen people and the heathen opposition. In an atmosphere of extreme excitement, becoming more inflamed daily by fresh reports of the determination of the heathen to wipe out the Christian population of Tongatapu, Thomas spent Saturday 7 January reading and expounding II Chronicles xx, 1-30.[83] In the light of subsequent events, the details of this chapter are significant. It tells the story of King Jehosophat and his victory, with the help of Jehovah, over concerted heathen opposition. Three themes emerge clearly from the narrative: the battle is the Lord's, his people do not have to fear, and the destruction of the heathen will be complete.[84]

The next day as a party of warriors was leaving Vava'u to join the forces in Tongatapu Thomas gave the chief supervising the expedition a copy of the sermon to be read or handed to King George on arrival in Tongatapu.[85] The chief and his party arrived in Tongatapu on Sunday, 8 January, and were able to reinforce King George's army for the impending encounter.

While Thomas was preaching victory for God's people in Vava'u the heathens of the fortress of Ngele'ia, little more than a mile from the Chris-

[80] Ibid., xviii, 34-42.
[81] *Ko e Same*, viii, 37-8.
[82] Thomas, Journal, 20-21 Dec. 1836, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).
[83] The morning service was devoted to reading and explaining verses 1-13 and the afternoon was taken up with an exposition of verses 14-30. See Thomas, Journal, 7 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).
[84] Thomas said he spent a lot of time reading and explaining this chapter to the people. See Thomas, ibid.
[85] Thomas, Journal, 6 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

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> of others or from your own experience, reading and reflection to do everything today better than you did it yesterday . . . Make the best of all that is in your hands. (Wesley, *Sermons*, 1:709)

With the help of Wesley's own works and directions to his 'helpers', many of the missionaries, like their colleagues at home, did their best to remedy the deficiencies of their education, and a number succeeded well. 'I and my colleagues', wrote one of the early pioneeer missionaries in Tonga, 'have undertaken to do something in Latin-Greek-and Hebrew, Logic and Divinity every week' (P. Turner, Journal, 30 Nov. 1841). In addition to religious magazines and papers, some included on their reading lists works on politics, history (English, Greek, Roman), Pacific research, physics, astronomy, medicine and also biographical works (P. Turner, Books read: 12). Those who did not appear to make efforts at self-improvement were sharply rebuked.

The missionaries regarded the establishment of schools as a must, not only in order to enable their converts to read the Bible and to communicate with each other in writing, but also to help combat some of the superstitious beliefs of the people and facilitate the understanding of the new concepts they had to introduce. The first school to be established in Tonga was at Hihifo. It was opened by John Thomas and his wife, but it did not last long because of Ata's opposition. Before the mission at Hihifo was abandoned in 1829, several of the young men from there moved to Nuku'alofa in order to attend the school there.

It was at Nuku'alofa that schools really flourished under the leadership of Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. Their first school was opened on 17 March 1828 (Cross to Committee, 8 Sept. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2834). In September of the same year attendance had risen to 150, Turner instructing the males and Cross the females. The main purpose of the schools was to teach both children and adults to read and write in the Tongan language. To begin with, the missionaries had to reduce the language into writing and then to write out everything they taught. Apparently some read as fast as the missionaries could produce these lessons for them. This was not surprising since many Tongans were eager to learn to read and write even before the arrival of the missionaries.

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Commander J. M. Laws, of His Majesty's Sloop *Satellite*, described the situation as he saw it in 1829:

> At Tongataboo I found the natives most amicably disposed and their intellectual superiority over those of the Society Islands is very remarkable, though they are seldom visited by Europeans . . . Most of the chiefs are young men who could make themselves understood in English, and when we asked them the names of the different islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to a letter with Captain Cook's account, this they have learnt from the English missionaries, three of whom are settled here, and who to my astonishment, informed me they had begun to teach the natives writing only five months ago, and in that time they had completely exhausted their stock of Tonga literature, and were now learning English of their own. (Laws 1829)

Owing to the increased pressure on the missionaries' time and energy there was a real need for further teaching aids. Turner reported on 27 June 1829 that they were forwarding a work to the colony to be printed.[1] Meanwhile Cross prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home, and when some of the already literate people went to distant parts of the islands to visit their friends, they took great pleasure in taking their books to read to them, and some started to read and even write before they attended school. Thus the popularity of school work and the novelty of literacy spread.

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The glamour of being able to read and write drew so many people to the schools—young and old alike—that the missionaries could not keep up with the demand. Turner wrote:

> Never did I see and feel the importance of time so much as I do now, the wants of the people are great, and they are continually pressing upon us to furnish them with something to read. The ears of hundreds are opened to listen to the 'Word of the Book' but alas they have no book today—Oh! that we had but a press and some one that could manage it, then would these hungry souls soon feed as in green pasture. (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

[1] The work covered the alphabet and spelling lessons; first reading lessons; the history of Creation and the Fall and other Biblical topics; a catechism, Ten Commandments and twelve hymns (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

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trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and political development of Tonga has been extremely significant.

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144).

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

> The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp, they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmology of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7).

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his

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Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce formal music training in his college. He thought that the best way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54):

to	lu	fa	ma	ni	o	no	tu	fi	va	a	hi	to
3	3̷	4	4̷	5	6	6̷	7	7̷	8	8̷	9	3̇

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans.

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community.

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry

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EDUCATION. Primary education is free and compulsory to the age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church, and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrangements have been made by the Government for the training of medical students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education on scholarships in Australia.

RELIGION. Government statistics (1931) show the following :—Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ; Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC.

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL advises the Sovereign on affairs of State and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordinances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign.

THE CABINET consists of the members of the Privy Council, except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parliament to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted.

PARLIAMENT meets each year about the end of June, its session lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the

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[1829-1830]

in Nuku'alofa for six months before sailing to Ha'apai. During that time he was greatly heartened and enlightened by the methods and success of Turner and Cross. He also said, "The conversation of my brethren has tended much to my improvement in the language", though he had been in Tonga a longer time than they.

The missionaries were quick to recognize both the strength of Taufa'ahau's personality and his earnestness. Unlike Palau at Mu'a and Ata at Hihifo, Taufa'ahau did not covet the missionaries' goods but wanted the new religion for its own sake.

When inviting Thomas to go to Ha'apai, Taufa'ahau had said to him,

> "I shall be thankful for your body only (supposing Ata would take my clothes) and I will give you native cloth if you will wear it. I will feed you free of any expense. I will build you a chapel and attend myself and send all my people to be taught." (6)

And he was as good as his word.

Thomas arrived in Lifuka on 30 January 1830. Two days later he commenced with a school of 110 men and boys. His wife had 95 women and girls in the afternoons. The men's school began at 6 a.m. Thomas had to write out their lessons by hand, but, in spite of the labour, he was overjoyed with the complete change from unresponsive Hihifo. Instead of a hostile Ata he had Taufa'ahau in his school learning to read and write. On 19 February 1830 Thomas reported that he had "many chiefs venerable for their hoary locks sitting with little children learning their alphabet". Lifuka resembled Nuku'alofa — a community devoted to daily instruction and public worship.

Before Thomas arrived in January 1830 there were only three out of eighteen islands of the Ha'apai group that had not yielded to Taufa'ahau's rugged campaign for the new faith; these were Nomuka, Tungua, and 'Uiha. The chief of Nomuka had come to 'Uiha and conspired with its people to capture Taufa'ahau and kill his supporters, but Taufa'ahau eluded these designs. Tungua was the seat of the Tamaha, the "Sacred Child", regarded by the people as the highest personage in Tonga and by the missionaries as "the main pillar of idolatry".(7) 'Uiha was the residence of Taufa'ahau's family and their burial-place but its chief was hostile towards him personally at that time. The Ha'apai chiefs who were opposed to Taufa'ahau's policy endeavoured to enlist the assistance of Finau 'Ulukalala III, ruler of Vava'u. Finau had come to Lifuka in July 1830 for the marriage festival of his wife's sister to Taufa'ahau, one of Taufa'ahau's polygamous pre-Christian marriages. Taufa'ahau was rejecting her, after living with her for a year but, before she returned to Vava'u, a festival was held, in compliance with Tongan custom.(8) This festival gave Taufa'ahau's opponents the opportunity to force him to change his policy or to put an end to him altogether.

The plot to kill Taufa'ahau in July 1830 (which occurred shortly after the L.M.S. leader, John Williams, had called at Lifuka and sailed on to Samoa) was foiled under remarkable circumstances. During the festival Taufa'ahau suddenly became violently ill. It transpired that he had accepted a drink from a hostile chief and there seemed no doubt that it had contained poison. Before long, preparations were being made to take Taufa'ahau to 'Uiha in case of death and for his burial there. At this juncture a canoe from Tongatapu brought 'Ulakai, the Christian chief and an uncle of Taufa'ahau, and he "proved a hindrance in their way", in the words of Peter Vi. The watchful Peter called on Thomas and Cross (the latter then on a visit to Lifuka) to save the Christian leader. They

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[1839 - 1847]

Latuselu was at once appointed to take charge of Niua Toputapu. Faupula and Latu were ordained at a later date. 797

Much responsibility devolved upon the ordained Tongan ministers, or Native Assistant Missionaries (N.A.M.) as they were officially termed. The success of the Mission also largely depended on the work of the pastor-teachers in the villages and the catechists who were the seniors among them and from whom the ordained ministers were chosen after further training. As in other Mission fields these men bore the brunt of the ongoing work at the local level. In preaching they were assisted by local preachers of whom there was never any dearth, such was the eagerness of Tongans to speak in public, to pray, and to lead the worship of congregations.

A vital part of the Mission's work of consolidation was educational. From the outset the Mission's primary object in establishing schools was to enable people to read the Scriptures. In 1839 there were 9,544 scholars in the Mission schools, "all taught gratuitously" as John Thomas noted.[19] The limited syllabus was academic. John Waterhouse, in his visit as General Superintendent in 1841, had the foresight to recognize the need for practical training suitable for the Tongans' needs, but many years passed before his vision was even partially realized. 797 872

Waterhouse in 1841 had also strongly urged that more should be done in preparing men for the ministry. His policy was put into effect at once by the establishment of the training institution at Vava'u with Francis Wilson. The District Meeting decided to call it "The Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries".[20] 797 874

The nine students in this "Academy" grew to fifteen in 1844. Care had to be taken not to hurt the feelings of the old teachers; the new ones on graduating were not entitled "Assistant Missionaries" but only "teachers". English was attempted but soon given up, as all but two found it too difficult. One of these was the Fijian, John Faupula, who became an ornament to the ministry. Faupula had been the first convert in Lakeba, baptized there by David Cargill, but compelled to leave Fiji because of the opposition of his faither, Tui Nayau, chief of the Lau islands. He became a stalwart leader and the first in a distinguished family of ministers. [191]

Taufa'ahau was interested in the new training venture at Neiafu. He ordered a large party of men to erect the building, and this structure was actually built, of native materials, in one day. Wilson wanted desks and benches, and these were promptly made from bush timbers; the students did not sit on the floor as in the primary schools. He also wanted books and writing paper, not slates. Useful material was found in the simple text-books, in such subjects as geography, which had been written by the wife of Charles Tucker before her exertions undermined her health and led to her return with her husband and family in 1841. 797 874 346

In 1847 Waterhouse's successor, Lawry, brought the new mission vessel, *John Wesley*, 250 tons, as a replacement for the notorious ship *Triton*, which had been slow, and often leaked badly, and was generally full of cockroaches. There now began, not only a new era in mission transport but also in the system and standard of education in Tonga. With Lawry came Richard Amos, who continued and expanded the work of Francis Wilson. 797

In his school at Nuku'alofa, Amos conducted classes for catechists and future candidates for the ministry as well as primary school classes. In his lessons for 797 874

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catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

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Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"! Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few years.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West. ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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king was adamant and vaguely threatened more trouble for the Church. The tone of this correspondence (in Tongan) showed how feeling had hardened on both sides, even though probably Moulton felt that Baker, and not the king, was responsible for the king's letter.[25] Eventually, Watkin stayed in Nuku'alofa, but the relationship between the king and Moulton became still more strained. With Moulton as Chairman of the District, there was now little prospect of reconciliation. Also, Watkin had made up his own mind about his future actions.

The downward turn of events for the Wesleyan Church increased rapidly. The Mission Board (still responsible for Tonga until 31 December 1881), at its meeting on 31 August 1881, expressed its astonishment at the latest news. All Church primary schools had been taken over by the Government without notice and without consultation or compensation; Baker was responsible for this. The holding of the missionary meetings for the year had been prohibited. According to Baker's own newspaper, *Po'opo'oi*, the Church was to be subject to Government interference and control. With regard to the last possibility, the Board instructed its agents to give "loyal obedience to the laws of the country", with the hope also that they would be free to carry out their duties to the Church.

Benjamin Chapman, Missionary Secretary for the previous eight years, died a fortnight after the Mission Board's meeting of 31 August. He had borne the anxieties of the troubles in Tonga and had done his utmost to conciliate the king. It was on his motion in the Mission Board and the General Conference (May 1881) that financial assistance to the new independent Tonga District had been promised in the event of any natural calamity such as a hurricane.

On 19 October 1881, Baker wrote to George Woolnough, President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, stating that the king had cancelled the missionary meetings before hearing that General Conference had made Tonga an independent district; that the king was "overjoyed" with that decision and only hoped that Mr. Watkin would not be removed to Ha'apai. He significantly added the desire that Watkin should take Moulton's place as Chairman. Clearly, the displacing of Moulton had become the crux of the situation.

Baker wrote from Auckland, on 30 December 1881, to Dr. Waugh, President of General Conference, stating again that the king was gratified with the decisions of the General Conference in May. Baker was anxious to impress ministers from Victoria like Dr. Waugh. In his veiled reference to Moulton he deplored the prevailing "unhappy circumstances" in the Tongan Church and he told Dr. Waugh that

> "those in charge of the Islands at the present time seem unwilling to make the arrangements a success". (26)

The arrangements to which Baker referred were the new status of the Tongan Church. Baker's obvious aim was to get Moulton out of the way. It was unfortunate that Moulton was not helping to ease the desperately difficult situation. Baker was unscrupulous, Moulton unwise and even provocative, and the contest was bitter but unequal. Moulton should have realized the impossibility of thwarting Baker who was not only Premier but used the royal name to cover his actions.

The first attack was upon Moulton's educational system, the apple of his eye. The Wesleyan village schools were taken over by the Government. Then Baker set up Tonga College, or the Government College, as it was generally called, to compete with Moulton's Tupou College. With Government support, the new institution soon outstripped its rival in enrolments.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1874-1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30 November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been ob'iged to come to is that : must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.[47]

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever.

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and maintain its handsome churches.

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued,

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December 1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions, with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church, but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

* * * *

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

person had been living during (or for most of) his first year of attendance at primary school, and to compare this datum with the place of enumeration. The virtue of this datum is that is has a high degree of standardization (since attendance at primary school is compulsory for children over the age of six and does not begin before the child's fifth birthday), is easily recalled and can also be independently verified (by examination of school records), and eliminates the distortions introduced by short-term population movement. The problem of short-term movement to the place of enumeration remains, and this would have to be corrected for. Indeed, it is quite possible that a better index of population flow in Tonga could be devised. My point is that demographic indices, if they are to be of any practical use, must by ethnographically valid; and it is here that the ethnographer can make a special contribution to assuring the quality and integrity of demographic data.

The Ethnography of Ethnographic Censusing

Regarding the second contribution of ethnography to demography—that is, facilitating demographic analyses that are not possible or not feasible with the conventionally-derived census—the potential for this is dependent on the nature and quality of the ethnographer's census. Since I gave little thought to the demographic potential of the data collected in my household survey in Motulahi, something ought to be said about my purpose in collecting these data. Here I should admit that the primary reason for the survey was because this is the sort of thing that anthropologists conducting community studies do. Even the least statistically-minded ethnographer nowadays feels called upon to present a minimum set of quantifiable materials relating to persons and households in the locality, including data on such matters as property ownership, income sources, religious affiliation, and so on. Since I was based in a particularly large village, the simplest way of ensuring that I had a full set of data relating to every person and household in the village was to conduct a systematic house-to-house survey, and that is what I did. While conducting the survey I also took the opportunity to map the village, noting the boundaries of each residential plot and the placement of structures on the plot. Again, this is something that ethnographers do as a matter of course. In every household I tried to obtain a set of

/275 cont./

772 771 177 212 538 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early missionaries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages 872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

[113]

752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates, woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized [194] by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

/276 cont./

872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses, [346] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron [177] roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades 872 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes 875 are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this [516] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and [352] female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary [191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of the intermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18) who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects [875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the colleges for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
177 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to conditions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 150 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence," /cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses. The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt. Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school. The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; these were principally young women and girls—and like those we had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed, until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows, the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English, arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and cipher-ing exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was immediately pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily. Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belonging to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female students, eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the